

III.—*On the connection of various ancient Hindu coins with the Grecian or Indo-Scythic series.* By JAMES PRINSEP, Sec. &c.

In my last notice on the subject of coins, I promised to bring forward demonstrations *in kind*, of the direct descent of the Hindu coins of Kanouj, from what have been denominated the Indo-Scythic series. In attempting to redeem my pledge, I am aware that I run counter to the opinions of those who maintain that the Hindus practised the art of coinage, and had a distinct currency of their own before the Greeks entered India; especially my friend Colonel STACY. To him my opposition might appear the more ungracious, since the weapons I am about to use are chiefly those he has himself so generously placed in my hands; but that I well know he is himself only anxious to develop the truth, and will support a cherished theory no longer than it can be maintained with plausibility at least, if not with proof.

I am not, however, about to contend that the Hindus had no indigenous currency of the precious metals. On the contrary, I think evidence will be found in the collection about to be described, that they circulated small pieces of a given weight; that stamps were given to these, varying under different circumstances; and that many of these earliest tokens exhibit several stamps consecutively impressed on the same piece, until at last the superposed impressions (not those of a die but rather of a punch) came to resemble the devices seen on the Indo-Scythic coins, in company with which they have been found buried in various places, particularly in Captain CAUTLEY'S Herculaneum at *Behat* near Saháranpur.

That from this period, in round terms, may be assumed the adoption of a *die-device*, or of coined money properly so called, by the Hindus, is all I would venture at present to uphold; and in doing so, I will not again appeal to the assertions of PAUSANIAS*, quoted in ROBERTSON'S disquisition, that the Hindus had no coined money of their own; nor to the silence of the Mahábhárat and other ancient works on the subject; but solely to the close family resemblance of four distinct classes of Hindu coins to what may be called their Bactrian prototypes; namely, those of *Kanouj*; the later class of the *Behat*, or the Buddhist, group; the coins of *Sauráshtra*, found at *Ujjain*, in *Guzerát* and *Cachha*; and those which Colonel STACY has denominated *Rájput* coins, having the device of a horseman on one side, and a bull on the other.

Before proceeding to comment upon the first of these classes, my tribute of obligation and praise is due to Colonel STACY, for the

* See J. A. S. vol. i. page 394.

persevering labour and true antiquarian zeal, which have alone enabled him to gather together such a rich collection of this peculiar and rare type, and for the disinterested readiness with which he has placed them at my disposal, to select from and publish at once, thus depriving him as it were of the first fruits of his enterprize and toil. It is true that so far at least as regards the merit of discovery, his title will rather be confirmed than injured by early publicity; but the employment of another hand to illustrate his materials may do injustice to his own careful classification; and modify the opinions and deductions regarding the origin, connection, and antiquity of various groups, which he may have derived from a larger and more intimate study of the subject, and from the actual inspection and handling of thousands of coins, that have been withheld from insertion in his select cabinet.

The home collector, who like myself, but receives contributions from others, may learn, from the superior fulness and novelty of many of the following plates, to appreciate the advantage of personal exertion over second-hand acquirement. In further proof of this, I could produce some of the letters now lying before me, received from Colonel STACY on his several coin excursions. Here he would be seen putting up with every inconvenience, enduring the burning heats of May, or the cold of December, under trees or in common serais in Central India; digging in deserted ruins, or poring over the old stores of village money-changers, after having (the principal difficulty and art), won their confidence, sometimes their interest, in the object of his pursuit: sparing neither money nor time to gain his end, and after a hard search and fatigue, sitting down, while his impressions were still warm and vivid, to communicate the results of his day's campaign.

Col. STACY felt himself for a moment disheartened on beholding the treasures of Gen. VENTURA and his followers: but although the character of the Bactrian relics necessarily eclipses all that can be expected from a Hindu source, while their prolific abundance astonishes the gleaner of Hindu relics, a moment's reflection should restore a full or even increased degree of satisfaction. Hindu history is even more in need of elucidation from coins than Bactrian. The two countries are in fact found to be interwoven in their history in a most curious manner, and must be studied together. The alphabetic characters, the symbols, and most especially the *link-coins*, (emphatically named so by Colonel STACY,) are fraught with information on this head, which can only be extracted by multiplying the specimens, and thus completing the chain of evidence. It will be seen shortly, that

several of the dynasties to which the coins belong have been identified through the names and legends they bear, and many new princes, hitherto unheard of, have been brought to light. Let not therefore Colonel STACY desert his line for one more engaging, but persevere in it as long as anything remains to be explored.

I cannot resist in this place pointing out the line of search recommended by Colonel TOD, (to whom is justly ascribed the paternity of this branch of numismatic study,) in a note on the late *Panjáb* discoveries published by him in the *Asiatic Journal* of London for May: "Let not the antiquary," he writes, "forget the old cities on the east and west of the *Jamna*, in the desert, and in the *Panjáb*, of which I have given lists, where his toil will be richly rewarded. I possess bags full of these Indogetic gentry; and I melted down into several sets of basons and ewers, the rust of ages from which the tooth of time had eradicated whatever had once been legible. . . . I would suggest the establishment of branch-committees of the Asiatic Society at several of the large stations, which would have a happy moral result in calling forth the latent talent of many a young officer in every branch of knowledge within the scope of the Society. *Agra, Mathura, Delhi, Ajmír, Jaipur, Némuch, Mhow, Ságar*, &c. are amongst the most eligible positions for this object. . . . A topographical map, with explanations of ancient *Delhí*, is yet a desideratum, and of the first interest: this I had nearly accomplished during the four months I resided amidst the tombs of that city."

In thanking Colonel TOD for his encouragement and advice, I must be allowed to differ altogether as to the means to be employed. Committees are cumbrous, spiritless, and inactive engines, for such an end; when anything does appear to be effected by them, it is generally the work of one member, whose energy is only diluted and enfeebled by the association. Give me rather the unity of design, and quickness of execution of (I will not say agent, as Colonel TOD suggests, but of) an independent pursuer of the object for its own sake*, or for his own amusement and instruction. It is by such as

* These I may say are already provided at more places than Colonel TOD points out: Colonel STACY at *Chitor, Udayapur*, and now at *Delhí*; Lieutenant A. CONOLLY at *Jaipur*; Captain WADE at *Ludhiána*; Capt. CAUTLEY at *Seháránpur*; Lieut. CUNNINGHAM at *Benares*; Colonel SMITH at *Patna*; Mr. TREGEAR at *Jaunpur*; and Dr. SWINEY (now in *Calcutta*), for many years a collector in Upper India. And for the exterior line, Lieut. BURNES at the mouth of the Indus; Messrs. VENTURA, COURT, MASSON, KERA'MAT ALÍ and MOHAN LA'L in the *Panjáb*; besides whom I must not omit Messrs. H. C. HAMILTON, SPIERS, EDGEWORTH, GUBBINS, Capt. JENKINS, and other friends who have occasionally sent me coins dug up in their districts.

these that all the good has hitherto been done; the extension of patronage followed rather than preceded or prompted the great discoveries of last year in Kábul*.

The plates I have prepared to illustrate my subject have not been numbered in the most convenient order for the purpose; but as it is a matter of indifference which line we commence upon, it will be fair to give our first attention to Plate XXXIV. containing the so long postponed continuation of the coins and relics dug up by Capt. CAUTLEY at Behat, and noticed in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society on the 14th January last.

The exhumation of this subterranean town has not perhaps been followed up with so much vigour as it would have been, had not its discoverer's attention been diverted to other antiquities of more overwhelming interest—the fossil inhabitants of a former world—before which the *modern* reliques of a couple of thousand years shrink into comparative insignificance. Perhaps indeed the notion of a city at the spot indicated by these remains should be modified. Professor WILSON writes me, that he cannot suggest any ancient city of note so situated; yet if it existed so late as the 3rd or 4th century of our era, it ought surely to be known. It may probably have been the site of a Buddhist monastery, which became deserted during the persecutions of this sect, and was then gradually destroyed and buried by the shifting sands of the hill torrents. Some of the relics now to be noticed forcibly bear out this supposition.

Plate XXXIV. Behat Group.

The upper half of this plate contains a continuation of the relics dug up at *Behat* by Captain CAUTLEY.

Fig. 1 is the object of principal interest, because it stamps the locality as decidedly Buddhist, and leaves us to infer, that the coins are the same, although their devices have nothing that can be positively asserted to be discriminative of this sect. The figure represents two fragments of a circular ring of baked clay. In the inner circumference are carved or stamped, a succession of small figures of BUDDHA seated, apparently 12 in number; and on the upper surface, a circular train of lizards. It is difficult to imagine the purpose to which it could have been applied. In some respects it may be compared

* We have arrested the press of this sheet to announce the arrival of the second memoir by Mr. MASSON, on the produce of his labours at *Beghrum*—the same announced some time since by Captain WADE. We shall hasten to prepare lithographs of the numerous figures with which it is illustrated, although comparatively few (not more than 5 or 6) of them are altogether new after Gen. VENTURA'S collection.—ED.

to the semi-circular sculpture near the *Bo*-tree at *Anurádhapura* in Ceylon, depicted in the 3rd volume of the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions; but, in that, the ring of animals consists of elephants, horses, tigers, and bulls, alternately*; four animals, which have a place in the *Bauddha* mythology; whereas I am not aware that the lizard is regarded in any degree of reverence by the Buddhists.

Fig. 3, an old ring of copper. This, like the more ornamental ring of Plate XVIII., volume 3rd, may in some respects be looked upon as a *Bauddha* relic; for in its metal it accords well with an extract from the *Dulva* in M. CSOMA KÖRÖSI'S Analysis of the Tibetan Scriptures, containing *Shákya's* injunctions that his priests should only wear seal-rings of the baser metals. "Priests are prohibited from wearing rings, and from having seal-rings of gold, silver, or precious stones; but they may have seals made of copper, brass, bell-metal, ivory, horn. A man of the religious order must have on his seal or stamp a circle with two deer on opposite sides; and below, the name of the founder of the *Vihara*. A layman may have a full length figure, or a head, cut on his signet."—Leaf 11, 12, volume X. of the *Dulva*—Asiatic Researches, xix. 86.

The circular devices of some of the coins (23 of this Plate, 31 and 32, of the following,) may perhaps also be explained by the rule of this teacher cited in the same extract, that the priests should use no other impress than that of the circle; and it is remarkable, that the deer is the very animal found on the most prominent silver coins of the group, such as fig. 16 of the present plate, and 48 of Plate XXXV., (see also volume iii. pp. 227 and 434.)

Fig. 4. A small image of baked clay; is more like a plaything for children than an object of worship.

Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, are varieties of the peculiar coins of the *Behat* series already noticed in Plate XVII. of volume iii.

The characters in many are tolerably distinct, and are clearly allied to, if not identical with, those of fig. 22—a true descendant of the *KANERKOS* series, as will be presently shewn in my Indo-Scythic Plate, LI., figs. 16, 17, (q. v.) The emblems also on many, a bull

* "At the foot of the steps to this second building, and let into the ground, is a very remarkable slab of hard blue granite: it is semi-circular, and sculptured in rings or bands of different widths. Some of the patterns are scrolls, equal in beauty to any thing Grecian; one consists of the *Hansa* or *Bráhma* duck, bearing the root of the Lotus in its bill; and the most curious has figures of the elephant, the horse, the lion, and the cow, which are repeated in the same order, and sculptured with great spirit and accuracy of outline."—*Roy. As. Soc. Trans.* III. 467.

and an elephant, may be imitations of the Azos coin. In fig. 7, the & symbol is exactly a *Chaitya*, or Buddha monument, as I had from the first supposed.

The tree is also satisfactorily made out in fig. 15, and in many of the coins in the following plate. In fig. 23, it is seen at the side of a walking figure; and above it, in a very perfect coin of the same type, since sent to me by Lieut. CONOLLY, the sun shines,—as it were on the saint and his holy tree.

The three most conspicuous letters on all of these coins are $\omega\theta\psi$ or *y dh y*, and it does not seem any great stretch of imagination to see in them a part of the word *Ayodhaya*, the seat of one of the earliest Hindu dynasties, and which was at the commencement of Buddhism almost as much the resort of its founder SHÁKYA, as *Rājgriha* the capital of *Magadha*. Still from the association of these coins with those of the Indo-Scythic dynasty, it would be hazardous to attribute to them any greater antiquity than the early part of the Christian era.

The metal of these coins is a mixture of tin and copper, which retains its figure well, and is white when cut.

Figs. 11, 12, will be recognized as Indo-Scythic coins: being found along with the rest, they serve to settle the point of antiquity.

On fig. 13, are the letters $\omega\theta\psi$ (in Tibetan ཨ་ཨ་ཨ་ . .) *p rája s*.

On fig. 16, are a further supply resembling more the *láth* alphabet ཨ་ཨ་ཨ་ . . *a mapasáte* . . . The same combination occurs in fig. 45, otherwise so different a coin; on the reverse, the letters under the symbol very much resemble the Pehlevi 𐭎𐭏𐭐 *malakáo*. This silver coin is of M. VENTURA's collection.

Fig. 17, is peculiar for its multitude of symbols, most of them known to us by their occurrence on other coins. This specimen is also of the VENTURA collection.

Fig. 18, a coin in Mr. TREGGAR's possession. Several of the same kind have been before introduced into my plates, but hitherto the figure under the elephant has been supposed to be a prostrate elephant vanquished by the upper animal. The multiplication of specimens has at length shewn us the true character of the doubtful part, and that it merely consists of two of the common symbols of the series.

But we must now turn to Plate XXXV. in which, thanks to Colonel STACY, I have been able to attempt a more methodical classification from his abundant supply of this Buddhist series of coins.

Plate XXXV. Stacy's earliest Hindu Coins.

It is an indisputable axiom, that unstamped fragments of silver and gold of a fixed weight must have preceded the use of regular coin

Relics from Behat near Saharanpur.

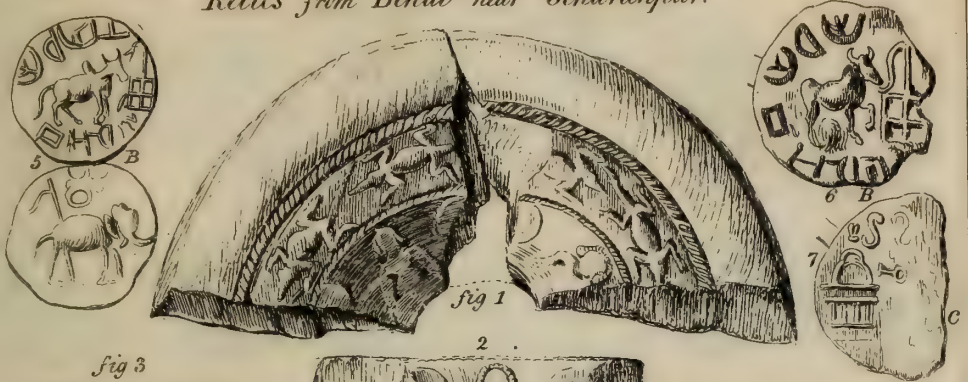
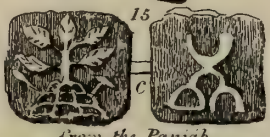
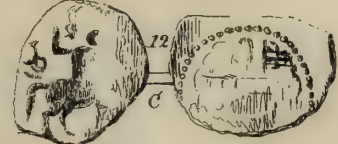
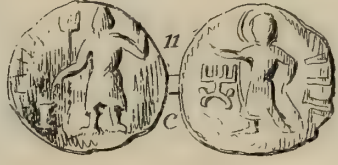
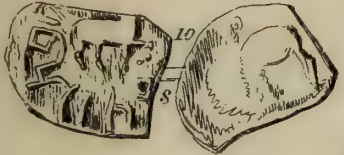


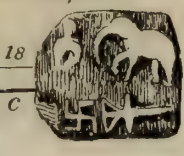
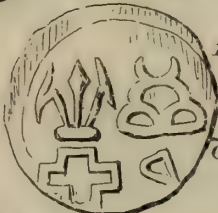
fig 3



fig 4



from the Panjab.



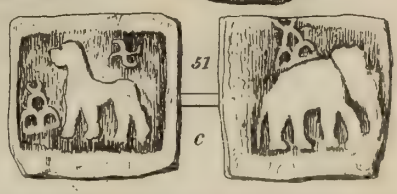
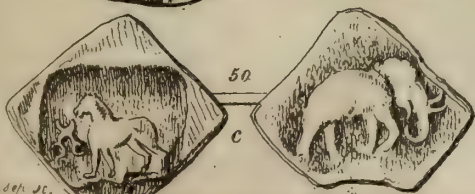
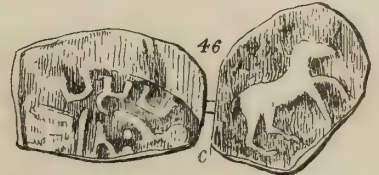
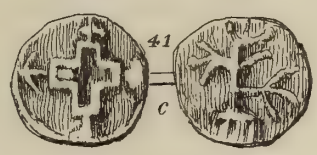
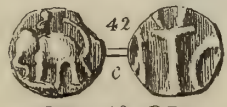
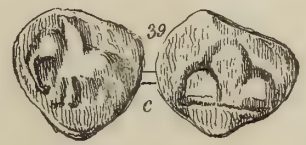
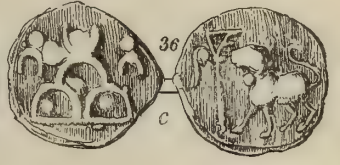
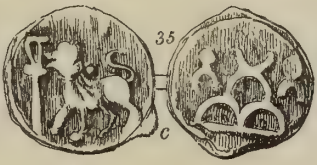
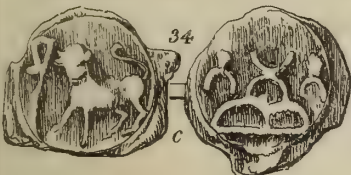
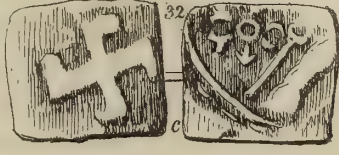
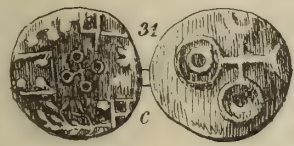
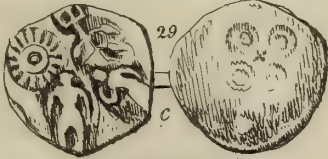
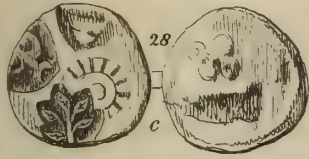
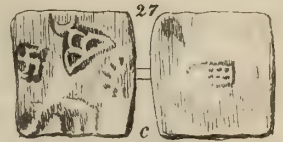
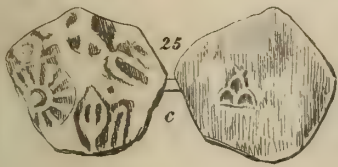
from Central India

from Jaunpur

from Central India

Ancient Hindu Coins.

26



in those countries where civilization and commerce had induced the necessity of some convenient representative of value. The antiquarian therefore will have little hesitation in ascribing the highest grade of antiquity in Indian numismatology to those small flattened bits of silver or other metal which are occasionally discovered all over the country, either quite smooth, or bearing only a few punch-marks on one or both sides; and generally having a corner cut off, as may be conjectured, for the adjustment of their weight*. Many instances of this type have been given in Col. MACKENZIE'S collection, (figs. 101 to 108 of WILSON'S plates) who describes them as "of an irregular form, bearing no inscription, occasionally quite plain, and in any case having only a few indistinct and unintelligible symbols: that of the sun, or a star is most common; and those of the *lingam* (?) the crescent, and figures of animals may be traced." The Colonel's specimens were chiefly procured in South India: others have been dug up in the Sunderbans:—and many were found at *Behat* (fig. 14.)


But the few selected specimens in Col. STACY'S collection, (figs. 25—29) yield more food for speculation than the nearly smooth pieces above alluded to. On all these we perceive the symbol of the sun to be the faintest of those present: in two instances (figs. 28, 29) it is superposed by symbols which may be hence concluded to be more recent. These are severally, the ☸ *chaitya*, the tree, the *swastika* ❧ and the human figure; besides which in fig. 26, we have the elephant, the bull, and the peculiar symbols of figs. 34—37. They are all stamped on at random with punches, and may naturally be interpreted as the insignia of successive dynasties authenticating their currency.

In one only, fig. 30, does there appear any approach to alphabetic characters, and here the letters resemble those of the *lāths*, or of the caves on the west of India, the most ancient written form of the Sanscrit language.

From the above original seem to have descended two distinct families, of which one was produced by the hammer and die, the other by casting in a mould. Of the latter, easily recognizable by the depth of relief, the projecting keel on the margin, shewing where the moulds were united,—and the greater corrosion due to the softness of the cast metal,—we have various groupes, and sub-divisions, but most of them agree in bearing the ☸ monogram for their obverse; sometimes, as in figs. 34, 35, 36, 37, with addition of two smaller symbols, α, like the sign of Taurus reversed.

* Their average weight is 50 grains, or the same as the *tan̄k* (= 3 *māshas*) of the ancient Hindu Metrology. Indeed the word *tan̄k-sāla*, mint, goes far to prove that these are the very pieces fabricated for circulation under that name.

On the reverse, we have frequently a dog with a collar (and bell?) guarding a sword or flagstaff of victory, (*jaya dhvaja*?) figs. 20, 21, 34, 35, 36. At other times an elephant (fig. 39); a bull (37), or the sacred tree (15, 38): and, in rarer cases, the device on both sides is changed, as in 40, 41. Figs. 18, 42, and 43, (in the latter of which the elephant might easily be mistaken for a deva nágarí letter,) are of the cast species; to which also belongs the multi-symbolic coin, fig. 18, of the last, and its fellows of former plates. The leaden coin 49, is also cast, but it is probably a forgery of some copper original.

Of the second branch, or die-struck coins, we have also several subdivisions—1st, the peculiar bronze-metal (*Ayodhya*?) coins of Behat in the last plate; to which belongs 44, with the tree symbol, and a sitting dog on the obverse: 2nd, a groupe, (figs 45, 46, 47,) having a horse on one side, similar to Lieut. CONOLLY's coin, fig. 1, Pl. XXV. of vol. iii.; 3rd, the stag and *chaitya* coin, (figs. 16, 48; also figs. 1, 2, and 6, of Pl. XVIII. and fig. 4, of Pl. XXV. vol. iii.); and 4th, those square rude coins, first pointed out by MASSON, having an elephant on one side and a lion (dog) on the other, with the characteristic symbol  figs. 50 and 51, of this kind are from the VENTURA collection.

Upon most of the latter or die-struck species are portions of inscriptions in the *lath* character, as was first clearly determined from Lieut. CONOLLY's coin, (Pl. XXV. vol. iii.) The letters so well defined on that type coin may be read, *विदाहेवस*, *vidáhévasa*; the second in the list there given was converted into *तपसलक्ष्म*; the third into *भगवतरूप*: but such renderings, having nothing beyond their being real Sanscrit words to recommend them, are hardly admissible. In the same manner, nothing can be made of the combination *patama dásata* of fig. 45; *pasaha* of 46; or *ramahata* of 47: the last coin is curious, from having an alligator or lizard symbol, similar to the sign on the porcelain ring from Behat (fig. 1.)

In explanation of the absence of any of the titles of sovereignty in these legends, the quotation already cited from M. CSOMA's analysis of the *Dulva* may be again brought forward—that under the symbols of the circle, deer, &c. the name of the founder of the *Vihara* should be inscribed;—indeed the whole of the above passage is singularly applicable to this group of coins; and, in conjunction with other evidence, suggests the idea that the Buddhist coinage was struck in the monasteries of the priesthood, where the learning, skill, and riches of the country would naturally follow their attainment of influence, and ascendancy over princes and people. The same argument may account for the imitation of Bactrian or Indo-Scythic

Indoscythic Coins - Kanerkos group.



Reverses



obverses



15 c



16 B



17 B



Group

devices in the later coins of the series ; since it is well known, that Buddhism prevailed through these countries also, and a constant inter-communication must have been consequently kept up. How far the antiquity of the first Buddhist groups of coins may have approached the epoch of BUDDHA (544 B. C.) it is difficult to determine, but the acquisition of their similitude to the Indo-Scythic coins must have been posterior to the breaking up of the genuine Bactrian dynasty, perhaps about the commencement of the Christian era.

Plate LI. Indo-Scythic Coins resumed.

Having disposed to the best of our knowledge of the earliest Hindu coins, we must now return to the Indo-Scythic series, for the purpose of conducting the reader through the promised line of connection into the second great field of Hindu imitation.

Enough has been said on former occasions of the two principal families of this type, the KADPHISES and the KANERKOS groupes ; but with a view of systematizing a little the information already obtained ; and, at the same time, of introducing a few new and very beautiful coins lately added to our list, I have collected in the present plate the principal varieties of the KANERKOS *mithriacs*, subsequent to the adoption of the vernacular titles *rao* and *rao nano rao*.

With the most common obverse of the Indo-Scythic family, a raja clad in the Tartar coat and inscribed PAO KANHPKI, fig. 3, I have traced on the copper coins, as well as in the gold ones, the following series of reverses, NANA (for *nanaia*), NANAO, MAO, MIΘPO, MITPO, MIOPO, MIPO, AΘPO, OKPO, and a word not very clearly made out on fig. 8, OAAO. Of these, the explanations have been already attempted* ; *mithro*, *mitro*, *miro*† are but varieties of *mithra*, the sun, whose effigy on the genuine Greek coins of KANERKOS is plainly entitled ΗΑΙΟΣ. *Okro* I have conjectured to be intended for *arka*, the Sanscrit name of the sun ; and his four-armed effigy in fig. 7, more beautifully developed on the gold coin fig. 1, an unique obtained by KERÁMAT ALI at Cábul, confirms this opinion. *Athro* has been before stated to be the Zend word for the igneous essence of the sun, and accordingly, we find flame depicted on the shoulders of the figures bearing this epithet, in fig. 6, and in fig. 2, a very pretty little gold coin, for which I am also indebted to KERÁMAT ALI. *Nanaia*, remaining feminine in NANA of fig. 4, has been shewn to be the Persian *Diana*, or the moon :—and in strict accordance with the Brahmanical mythology, this deity is made masculine in NANAO and MAO, the *más* or *lunus* of the Hindus,

* See vol. iii. p. 452, et seq.

† Lieut. CUNNINGHAM has added this variety from a fine gold coin.

and on his effigy in figure 9, (as in former drawings in vol. iii.) the horns of the moon are seen to project from behind his shoulders.

The same devices in every respect are continued upon several succeeding coins of the *Rao nano rao* series. The chief varieties of the obverse of these are given in figs. 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. The order in which they should be placed is necessarily doubtful; but judging from the comparative perfection of the Grecian letters, the "couch-lounger," fig. 9, and the "elephant-rider," fig. 10, should have precedence over the rest.

Fig. 9, from the VENTURA collection, is a very perfect specimen of the couch-lounger. He has a glory extending around his body, as well as his head, and his titles, *rao nano rao* and *korano*, are distinct; but the name is unfortunately missing, no more than O O being visible.

In fig. 10, we are not more fortunate, but from the succession of o's, we may guess the word to be OOHMO or OOHPKI, names already known on the gold coins. Some of the Manikyála elephant coins had the name KEN PANO. This family is extremely numerous, and is procurable among the old pice of every bazar in Upper India.

The names on the last series, figs. 11 to 14, are illegible; but the letters are still Greek. The three first specimens are selected from a number in Col. STACY'S cabinet, to exhibit the varieties of the sitting posture, and its gradual transition to the squat position of the Hindus. Col. TOD has supposed the figure in a coin similar to fig. 11, to be Parthian; but what he there took for a bow was evidently the ornamental contour of the back of the prince's throne or *sinhásan*. Fig. 14, is from a coin in Col. SMITH'S possession.

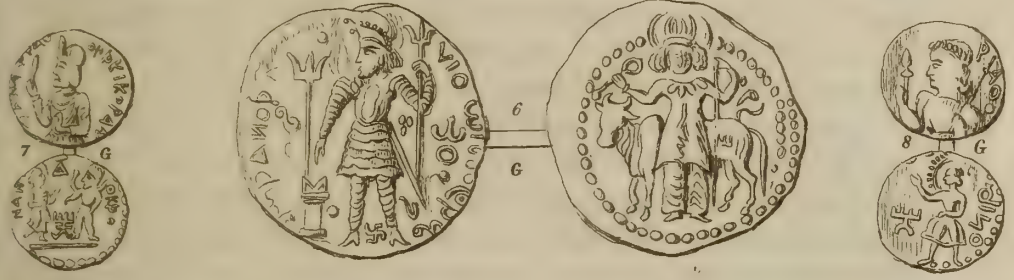
In fig. 15, of this plate, drawn from a plaister cast of a bronze, embossed, *chaprás* or badge in the VENTURA collection, we may conceive the full device of the elephant obverse to be developed. The faulty proportion of the rider still prevails;—the flowing fillets to the head-dress; the *ankush* to guide the animal; the glory around the face, are visible in both; but the name is wanting.

Of figs. 16 and 17, the former from Col. STACY'S, the latter from Col. SMITH'S, cabinet, I have already noticed a less perfect specimen while descanting on the earliest Hindu coins. The general style of the figures on both faces so strongly resembles that of the KANERKOS coins, that I feel disposed to look upon them as imitations. The legend has a fourth letter very distinct, besides some less distinct on the left hand, योधियाल तजया *yodhiyala. . tajaya*.

Plate XXXVIII. Indo-Scythic and Hindu Link-Coins.

It is worthy of remark, that none of the KANERKOS coins have a Pehleví legend; although the collateral series of KADPHISES, which

Connection of Indo-scythic with Canouj Coins.



Hindu Coins, Canouj Series.



possesses so many attributes in common with them, invariably has this accompaniment. Considering that all the Bactrian family have the same, it would perhaps be better to place KADPHISES as the last of the *Pehlevi* series, immediately before KANERKOS*, and he will thus follow most conveniently the *Kadaphes choranos* described in my last paper. Indeed, as the word *Kadphises* never occurs except in conjunction with some other name, as OOHMO, or OOKMO, it may be read as a patronymic appellation of the family—the descendants of KADAPHES.

Of the gold coins of KADPHISES, two varieties only were hitherto known to us. By singular good fortune, Colonel SMITH has met with a third, and with duplicates of the former two, in the common bazar of Benares! His agent purchased the three, which are engraved at the top of Plate XXXVIII. from a shroff, who said they were sold to him two years ago by a Marhatta pilgrim to the holy city, in whose family they must doubtless have been hoarded for many centuries, for their character precludes any suspicion of their genuineness. Of fig. 2, I have since found a duplicate in KERÁMAT ALI's last despatch to myself: fig. 3, is a duplicate of the one Dr. MARTIN† extracted from the

* They must have been nearly contemporaneous. Lieut. CUNNINGHAM tells me, he has just obtained 163 KANERKI and KADPHISES copper coins, which were dug up in a village near Benares. The proportions of each type were as follows: KADPHISES and bull, 12; KANERKI, 60; elephant-rider, 48; running or dancing figure on reverse, 13; couch-lounger, 13; cross-legged, 5; squatted figure, 8; and undistinguishable, 4. In the collections from the Panjáb, the ill-executed descendants of the bull reverse predominate.

† The May No. of the Asiatic Journal of London contains an announcement of the safe arrival of this coin and of the collector himself, in Italy. Col. TOD on his travels happily found, and translated the following notice from the *Bulletin* of the Archæological Society of Rome, which our readers will read with avidity, although in fact it adds nothing new to our information.

“ Signor HONIGBERGER has returned from a voyage in the east, laden with an abundant antiquarian harvest of most important medals. Among the more remarkable are a large one of DEMETRIUS; another, very beautiful, and in fine preservation, of EUTHYDEMUS; and a third, extremely perfect, of HORMUSDAS of the Sassanian dynasty: all three, it would appear, hitherto unknown (*inédites*). But what seems to us to merit still more consideration, is a similar monument, with the name of a king KADFISE written in Greek characters. Signor HONIGBERGER discovered it in the vicinity of Kábul; where, in a small wooden case, amongst a quantity of ashes and earth, he found a little silver box containing the above-mentioned coin, together with a blackish (or dark-coloured) Nerastra (stone in the form of an egg), with some small bones, apparently those of a child. Upon the medal is the bust of an aged man, of no very noble expression, bald-headed, in a simple garb, and holding in his right hand an implement resembling a hammer. Around it is a very distinct inscription, in Greek characters, ΚΑΔΦΙΣΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ; and less-well-preserved, other cha-

Jelálábád tope, depicted in MASSON'S Plate XIII. vol. iii. Fig. 1, is as yet unique, and is of particular interest, from the style of the obverse. The king is here seen mounted on a Grecian or Roman war-chariot, drawn by two horses, and driven by an *auriga* of diminutive proportions. The execution is very perfect, with the exception of the exaggeration of the principal figure. The inscription is quite perfect, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΘΗΣ, and on the reverse, in Pehleví 𐭪𐭣𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵. 𐭮𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴 as nearly as can be made out by a careful collation of the three coins. I cannot attempt to interpret this long inscription, but the commencement seems to be *Malakáo Kadiapas*. . . . The symbols are the same as usual, and the perfect preservation of this beautiful coin enables us to note the flames playing on the shoulders of the monarch similar to those on the effigy of *Athro* in the last plate, and to those on the image of *Buddha* dug up by Dr. GERARD at Cábul, (see Plate XXVI. vol. III.)

I have hitherto been unable to determine the meaning of the bull reverse. The next two figures (4, 5,) of the present plate remove this difficulty. They are both gold coins of the VENTURA collection; on the obverse, the titles *rao nano rao* and *korano* are visible; and in the area of fig. 4, what appears to be the Sanscrit syllable *ꣳ*; only we know that the Sanscrit of that ancient period was of a different form. But the reverse of these is what we should particularly notice, because the word OKPO, (in one coin written downwards, in the other upwards,) marks the bull and his priest as dedicated to the solar worship, and not to SIVA of the Brahmanical creed.

The next gold coin, No. 6, requires no particular notice, nor does fig. 8, on which the simple title PAO, seems to designate a young prince; but the three following, also of General VENTURA'S superb collection, must arrest us for a moment.

The name on the *obverse* of these is OHPKI, the same as on the *Má-nikyála* small gold coins: on the *reverse*, fig. 7 shews us the two radical emblems united, *Nanaia* and *Okro*, on the same coin, with the four-

racters resembling MO. (OOHMO.) On the reverse is a naked youth, on whose head are traces of a turban or cap, (berretta,) and an inscription in Persian characters of the ancient Pehlví (*caratteri Persiani de W'Antico Pehlví*). HONIG-BERGER states, that he has other medals of this same king, hitherto unknown to history and numismatics. Another medal in gold, which the same traveller left with an amateur of antiquities at St. Petersburg, shews the entire figure of a similar king, armed from head to foot; and in the inscription, which is well preserved, the Greek characters B and O are legible. On the reverse is a man, clothed, with a horned animal before him. The epigraph on this is likewise in the ancient Pehlví character."

pronged symbol between them, and a mysterious triangle above. This little coin is unique. The next, fig. 9, is equally curious, though others in copper have been met with by Colonel STACY. The epigraphe borne by these is ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ, which I suppose to mean "the great sun;" *arda* or *arta* in *Ardeshir* and *Artaxerxes*, having that acceptation. On the copper coins, the word appears corrupted to ΟΡΟ ΟΚΡΟ, and this is probably the epigraphe of the dancing figure in Plate L.

In fig. 10, the name of the moon, MAO, and the lunar crescent, are satisfactory and conclusive, as to that being the correct reading.

And now we come at last to the main object to which this essay was directed, namely, to discover the prototype of the Kanouj coins in those of Indo-Scythic fabric.

The great majority of what are called the Kanouj gold coins have on the obverse a prince standing precisely in the attitude of ΚΑΔΡΗΣΙΣ and ΚΑΝΕΡΚΟΣ. The dress alone betrays a slight variation, being in some instances almost the coat and trowsers of the present day. On the reverse is a female seated sometimes on a couch, more frequently in the native fashion, holding in her left hand a cornucopia, in her right a *pása* or noose. This class of coin has long been known. A brass-pot, containing, it is said, two hundred of them, was accidentally discovered by the wearing away of the east bank of the river Huglí, 10 miles above Calcutta, some years ago. Twenty-four were presented to the British museum, an equal number to Dr. W. HUNTER, and a portion to the India House; the remainder were dispersed among private collectors. It was from one of these that Mr. WILSON'S No. 13 was drawn; and the same store furnished the figures in MARSDEN'S plate. The latter author in his *Numismata Orientalia*, vol. ii. page 725, has the following passage, which will serve excellently well as a text to the present section of our essay:

"Some learned antiquaries think they discover in these the evidences of a Greek origin; but on this point I do not see enough to justify an opinion, and shall refrain from conjecture; cherishing the hope that future discoveries of Indian medals may throw a light upon the subject, which is in itself of the highest interest."

To this challenge we have now the good fortune to be able to respond most satisfactorily, for in figs. 11 and 12 (of the VENTURA collection), we find precisely the obverse and reverse above described with the marginal legend in Greek, *rao nano rao. korano*, and the superaddition of some incipient rude Nágarí in the position afterwards occupied by legible Sanscrit names and titles. To set the comparison in the clearest light, the two lowest coins in the page have been inserted, fig. 16 from Gen. VENTURA'S, fig. 17 from Col. SMITH'S, cabinet,

to shew the identity of the two classes. The description of them in detail belongs to the next plate, where instead of deteriorating, they will be found to improve, while they become indianized. An opposite effect is, however, observable in a second branch, derived from the same stock, which it is difficult to account for, unless by supposing a divided realm, one portion flourishing and patronising the arts, while the other maintained naught but the shadow of its pristine glory and ancestry. This declining gradation is exemplified in figs. 14 (VEN-TURA) ; 13 (STACY) ; and 15 (KERÁMAT-ALÍ) ; wherein at last it is barely possible to trace the semblance of the sacrificing rája on the obverse, or of the female on the reverse ; although from the insensible gradations in a multitude of specimens, such are undoubtedly the figures. Fig. 15, is a very common coin in silver and copper : one was extracted from the *Mánikyála* tope, and was then supposed to bear the representation of a crab and a dagger ! That coin, it will be remembered, bore the obvious Nágari letters श्रीग. Many others have been since discovered with the same ; and it should be remarked, that the form of Nágari in these differs essentially from that of the collateral branch.

Here then we have the Indo-Scythic paternity of the Kanouj coinage proved by the best evidence : and now we will proceed to examine in detail its Hindu offspring, before entering upon the natural enquiry whether such a fact is borne out by the meagre remnants of history and tradition that are applicable to this obscure period.

Plate XXXIX. Hindu Coins—First Kanouj Series.

The Deva Nágari alphabet, published with Mr. WATHEN'S translation of the Guzerát copper-plates two months ago, will be found to apply in every respect to the coins before us : it is also nearly identical with the Gayá and Allahabad alphabets ; the principal exceptions having place in the *m*, which in the latter is written more like \mathcal{M} , while in the former it is \mathcal{X} ; and the *s*, which is respectively \mathcal{S} in the latter, and \mathcal{L} in the former. To avoid the necessity of casting a new fount of type to illustrate the following observations, I have availed myself of the pervading similarity of the Tibetan alphabet ; which, though several centuries later, can, with the alteration of a few letters, be employed for our purpose much more readily than the modern Deva Nágari.

The Tibetan *r*, \mathcal{R} , answers for *t* of this alphabet : \mathcal{C} for *d*, and the prosodial stroke \mathcal{T} for *r*. The latter letter when inflected with the *a* or *i* vowel, may be represented exactly by the Nágari short and long *i*, \mathcal{I} and \mathcal{I} . For the *k*, *g*, *dh*, and *m*, I have been obliged to cut new type \mathcal{K} , \mathcal{G} , \mathcal{D} , \mathcal{X} ; and for the letter which I have supposed from some likeness to the Tibetan \mathcal{W} , to be *a*, I have given the new symbol \mathcal{H}

the same, it will be remarked, that was excluded from the consonants in the *lúth* alphabet No. 1. The remaining letters require no explanation, as a comparison of the type with the engraved figures will shew their slight difference of form.

The readings of the inscriptions in the present plates are for the most part new, and have been made out, dictionary in hand, by one unacquainted with Sanscrit :—they therefore claim indulgence, and will succumb to any more plausible interpretation from the professed scholar.

To begin with the two coins of the last plate, which appear to belong to the same sovereign ;—we find on the obverse (combining the two figures), the words $\text{श्रीपारिजातदवजोश्रीशिवः}$ *Sri? (a) parajita davaja*. On the opposite side of a duplicate fig. 17, we find the name कुमारगुप्तः *Kumára gupta*, and on the reverse, to the right, परकुरामः *parakramah*. The whole title may be interpreted, (if in *davaja* we suppose an ignorant writing of the word *dhvaja*,) “The hero of the unconquered standard, the blessed KUMÁRA-GUPTA.”

Beneath the left arm of the *Rája* also are three letters superposed ཡུ in the Tibetan manner, *spyu* ; which we learn from M. CSOMA DE KÖRÖS to be pronounced *chu*, and to signify *Rája*. The same word is prefixed to every prince’s name in the list of Assam Rájás. The trilateral compound may, however, denote a date. A duplicate of Colonel SMITH’s coin, 17, was presented to me by Captain WADE. The WILLOUGHBY cabinet possesses another, and Mr. WILSON has given one precisely similar, in which we find the कुमारगु *Kumára gu (pta)* of the obverse, and the परकुराम *parakrama* of the reverse very well marked—the first letter however in this, as in our coin, is more like *bhu* or *su* than *ku*.

In all of these specimens the trident of the *Rao* coins is changed into a standard, having a bird at the top, somewhat resembling the Roman eagle.

Figs. 18 and 19, are placed next in succession, because the cornucopia lady still sits on a couch in the European fashion. The *Rája* here holds a bow in the left hand, and in the right, a short stick ; for the fire altar below it is now removed. A bracelet on the shoulder, and the head dress, begin to look Indian. The letters on the margin of the obverse are lost, but in the bow, we find चन्द्र *chndr* superposed as before. MARSDEN reads this combination *Chandra*, with some plausibility. On the reverse of 18, is the name or title of the prince श्रीविक्रमः *Sri Vikrama*.

On fig. 19, the name is quite different अपतिरुहा *ápatis rúrha*, “The averter of misfortune.”